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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1596

EAST

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ALBANIA

BRIEFS

MEMBERS OF ELECTIONS COMMISSION--On the basis of Article 15 of Law No 4121, of 17 March 1966, "On Elections to the People's Assembly," the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania resolves that the composition of the Central Commissions for Elections to the People's Assembly is approved as follows: Rita Marko, chairman; Xhorxhi Robo, deputy chairman; Liri Gjoliku, secretary; Dritero Agolli, Sali Dibra, Hatixhe Katro, Dervish Shahini, Lumturi Rexha, Kostandin Manushi, Hamit Shanku, Marie Gjoni, Hidajet Lahi, and Ideale Selmanhasko, members. This decision goes into effect immediately. [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Sep 78 p 1]

CSO: 2100

EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY: FDJ USE OF INFLUENCE ON YOUTH

Military Instruction in School

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 181, 18 Sep 78 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "FDJ To Ensure Active Participation of Students in Military Instruction"]

[Text] The communist FDJ intends to see to it that all students in the 9th and 10th grades of GDR general education schools participate "actively" in the military instruction which, despite strong criticism by the churches, was instituted on 1 September. An FDJ resolution says that the "official in charge of socialist military education" at every school bears a "special responsibility" for "active participation" by the students in military instruction and in "military training at camps." This wording is noteworthy inasmuch as attendance by young men at military camps is officially supposed to be "on a voluntary basis."

The FDJ resolution terms it the additional concern of every managerial body of the youth association "to help all girls and boys become aware of their right and obligation to defend socialism." The "official in charge of socialist military education" has a major responsibility to assure that FDJ managements make regular assessments of the thoughts and actions of young people with respect to national defense and that they use these assessments to arrive at conclusions pertaining to socialist military education.

Order and Discipline

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 181, 18 Sep 78 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "'Order Units' of the FDJ To Discipline GDR Youth"]

[Text] The 'order units' of the FDJ, the GDR youth organization, are playing an increasingly greater role in the efforts by party and state to discipline GDR youth. According to reports from East Berlin, greater numbers of reliable FDJ members have been added to the order units in recent years.

The uniformed units, which work closely with the People's Police and other security forces, are being used more and more frequently to ensure peace and order at youth gatherings and other public events, to nip in the bud "disturbances" of all kinds as well as "political provocations." According to the FDJ leadership, "as organs of the managements" of the GDR youth association, the order units are instrumental in "ensuring order and discipline at our young people's dances and other events as well as in the youth clubs, enforcing the child welfare provisions called for by the GDR Youth Law and protecting our young men and women from unwholesome influences." They are "politically alert and on the offensive" against "ideological diversion and any other kind of intrigue on the part of enemies of the GDR."

The number of order units is apparently to be increased even further. The FDJ leadership has directed all youth clubs to establish order units which are to be instrumental in "ensuring order and safety within the youth club as well as at all of its social functions."

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EAST GERMANY

DEVELOPMENT OF, DANGERS TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ANALYZED

East Berlin IPW-BERICHTE in German Vol 7, No 7, Jul 78 pp 7-18, 27

[Article by Wolfram Neubert, IPW-BERICHTE editorial board: "The Dialectic of Peaceful Coexistence and Social Progress and Its Anticomunist Falsification: Revolutionary World Process and Socialist Peace Policy--No Social Status Quo in Capitalist World--Against Revival of Cold War Ideology--Social Progress Determines Peace." See also article by same author in JPRS 66851, 25 Feb 76 of this series, pp 11-34. For additional related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: 70681, 24 Feb 78, No 1506, pp 13-16; 70388, 28 Dec 77, No 1489, pp 37-38 and 41-46; 70087, 3 Nov 77, No 1468, pp 16-19; 69677, 25 Aug 77, pp 31-46; 67887, 9 Sep 76, No 1290, pp 1-12; 67337, 19 May 76, No 1243, pp 1-3; and 66956, 12 Mar 76, No 1212, pp 12-28]

[Text] The struggle for winning acceptance for the policy of peaceful coexistence, the successes achieved in the striving for the relaxation of tensions and their strengthening by measures of arms limitation and disarmament are accompanied by a tangible sharpening of the ideological contest. Reactionary circles of imperialism are endeavoring to falsify the essence of peaceful coexistence and to construe contradictions between the Soviet Union, her defense efforts for the protection of socialism and her consistent internationalist attitude in the class struggles with imperialism. It cannot be overlooked that the attempt is being made to revive political and ideological elements of Cold War with the aim of countering the growing power of attraction of socialism, of diverting attention from their own imperialist policy of arms race, whipping up tensions and interference in the internal affairs of other states and of "justifying" it by having more and more recourse to an alleged "communist threat." Such policies are conjuring up new dangers for peace and the peaceful coexistence of nations which must be fought consistently, also by an ideological offensive.

Among those topics which are the subject of ideological controversy between socialism and imperialism there is the question of the relation between peaceful coexistence and social progress. This is the question which inquires into likenesses and differences and also into the relationships between

a) the guarantee of security and of mutually advantageous cooperation between socialist and capitalist states on the one hand and

b) the legally conducted struggle led by the working class and its revolutionary party and carried out by the workers of every country to safeguard their already achieved social possessions, to improve their class status within the context of capitalism and finally to effect a fundamental transformation of their social living conditions in the interest of freedom. This means freedom both from economic exploitation, political suppression, intellectual stultification and military destruction as well as freedom on the other hand to exercise their own dominion over their natural and social living conditions within the framework of socialism-communism.

The Struggle for Peace and Progress in the Ideological Conflict of Our Time

The worldwide intellectual conflict regarding peace and social progress reflects those tendencies of opposition in the ideological life of our times which are bound up with international detente. These are tendencies which manifest themselves on the one hand in improved propagation facilities for the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and on the other hand in the increased activities of the various representatives of bourgeois ideology on the other hand, especially with regard to reactionary forces which are opposed to detente. In this process there has been a substantial sharpening of the attempts of the most reactionary imperialistic forces and of other circles in the ruling class of the "West" to make use of the ideological resources of the Cold War and to employ them as a lever to brake the further process of detente or to put it into reverse or to misuse it for their aggressive and counterrevolutionary class interests.

In the last decade thanks to the offensive of Marxism-Leninism in the achievement of the basic needs of our time--peace and social progress--visible results have been achieved despite all the counteractions of reactionary imperialistic forces. These results gave occasion to L. I. Brezhnev to make this pregnant evaluation of the contemporary historical process: "The world is literally changing before our eyes and it is changing for the better." [1] At the same time ever more people are recognizing and becoming aware of the need for and the more favorable opportunities for further advances in detente and especially for the supplementation of political by military detente; but also there is recognition of the achievement of new socially progressive developments in all parts of the world.

Visible results are first of all the striking progress in the countries of the socialist community in building their developed socialist society and in

building communism; the deepening of the cooperation of the socialist countries; the appearance of a unified socialist Republic of Vietnam and of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos; the liquidation of the last "great" colonial regime as well as orientation of the national liberation movement toward new tasks, especially toward the tasks of economic independence; the collapse of the last fascistic dictatorships in Europe, the growth of anti-imperialist activity on the part of the workers' movement and the democratic movement as well as a perceptible shift to the left including the emerging tendency to unity of action on the part of communists and social democrats in a number of capitalist countries.

Secondly, these visible results include the turn in the Cold War toward international detente, the defeat of aggression on the part of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the growing cooperation between "east" and "west" as well as a strengthening of the mass movement for peace in the world.

It was the communist and worker parties which gave the chief answer to questions regarding further tasks arising under the newly developed conditions of the struggle for peace and social progress. At their Berlin conference the communist and worker parties of Europe in laying down their strategy toward achieving "significant progress on the road to the transformation of Europe into a continent of peace, of security, of cooperation and of social progress" [2] made the following declaration: "The politics of peaceful co-existence, active cooperation between states, independently of their social order, and international detente are in accord both with the interests of every people and also with the goal of the progress of all humanity and in no case do they imply a political and social status quo in the various countries but on the contrary they create the best propitious conditions for the development of the struggle of the working class and of all democratic forces, for the establishment of the unnegotiable right of each people to freely choose its path of development and to enter upon that path, for the struggle against the dominion of monopoly and for socialism." [3]

This answer to questions regarding the relation of peaceful coexistence to social progress becomes all the more significant when even bourgeois, social democratic and left-opportunistic forces of the capitalist world adopt certain positions in reaction to it. Depending upon their ideological point of view they react either by wrong interpretations or even by directly anticommunist falsifications with partial agreement and subtle gradations of difference between the various forces. They have all arisen as a result of the obvious failure of "western" views regarding peace and social progress which were given currency in the era of the Cold War.

The American President's security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski was compelled to confirm the fact that bourgeois norms have suffered a loss of influence. He wrote: "Today both in our own country and also much more so abroad the traditional ... values of individualism and of free enterprise ... have run into competition from ... emphasis upon the (national or social) collective, upon social justice and social security." [4]

And regarding the American concept of the "cold" and "hot" war against socialism U.S. President Carter asserted: "In this period of time (since 1945--author) our policy was characterized by the two following principles: the idea that Soviet expansion (by which term he attempts to falsify the revolutionary world process--author) must be contained and the corresponding belief in an almost totally comprehensive alliance of the noncommunist countries.... This system could not remain permanently untouched by changes. Historical trends have weakened its foundations...." The notion that "we should embrace every dictator who shared our fear of communism ... was wrong.... The best illustration of this intellectual and moral impoverishment was Vietnam.... It is a well-known fact that today's world finds itself in the middle of the most profound and most rapid process of transformation in its history. In less than one generation the daily life and the goals of most people have changed." [5]

The imperialist and opportunistic forces seek a way out of this dilemma which on the one hand requires that they oppose new objective necessities and real opportunities for peace and social progress and on the other hand compels them to admit their own failures in opposing these paths toward peace and progress. Brzezinski asserted that "conquest of the intellectual crisis of the west ... must have first priority in American foreign policy." [6]

But many influential political and ideological forces in the capitalist countries are manifestly unwilling to enter upon the process of adaptation with a relevant ideological discussion but carry out such discussion in terms of dogmas, forms and methods of the Cold War. The libelous anti-Soviet lie of alarmists that social progress in any country in the world is the work of Moscow, that peaceful coexistence would only be a tactic in Soviet striving for world domination is propagated with undiminished steadfastness just as with crusading zeal they demand that socialist countries recognize "western" ideological viewpoints in questions such as those relating to human rights and make this a direct precondition of further detente.

Thus it is not only the design of certain forces in the capitalist world to propagate deliberately distorted views regarding the interrelationship between peaceful coexistence and social progress--thus falsifying public attitudes--but it also intends through these distortions at the same time to provide ideological flank protection for the course of further imperialist armament.

Thus there has arisen a situation regarding which L. I. Brezhnev has said: "International relations now stand at a fork in the road leading either to a growth of confidence and of cooperation or to a growth of mutual suspicion and of arms hording; paths leading, in a word, finally either to permanent peace or at best to balancing on the brink of war." [7] In the interests of a climate of trust it is necessary to propagate the truth regarding the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and social progress, to defend and to deepen this dialectic and to deal with false conceptions of it through clarifying

discussion. But above all it is necessary to decisively combat all anticommunist falsifications, lies, libels and provocations--in other words base distortions.

Likenesses and Differences Between Peaceful Coexistence and Social Progress

The peaceful coexistence of states having different social orders and social progress (in the form of the building and further development of real socialism as well as in the form of more social security, social improvements and social liberation for workingmen in the countries of capitalism or insofar as it relates to the progress of national liberation in the so-called developing countries) are historically forward-looking processes which while taking place on different levels in different sequences and with different causes and effects nevertheless have at the same time close bonds with one another. Their likeness consists in the fact that they are of an antiimperialist character and represent phenomenal forms of the revolutionary transition process from capitalism to socialism.

Our epoch which was initiated by the Great Socialist October Revolution is in fact "the epoch of the struggle of the two opposed social systems, the epoch of socialist revolutions and of national liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of the transition of ever more peoples onto the path of socialism, the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale." [8] This has the consequence that the discussion between the opposed social systems as well as the struggle for democracy and social progress in the lands of capitalism, the national liberation revolutions and finally the socialist revolutions together approach the historically determined goal of the epoch: the suppression and conquest of imperialism, the liquidation of colonialism and neocolonialism and the transition of new peoples upon the paths of socialism and finally the victory of socialism and communism in the entire world.

With all their likenesses there exist differences which must not be overlooked between the struggle for peaceful coexistence and that for particular forms of social progress within the three currents of the revolutionary world process.

First: Peaceful coexistence subsists in the sphere of the relations existing between states having different social orders. Social progress--on the other hand encompasses the domain of social life within the states--whether this social progress be with regard to elementary daily political tasks or with regard to fundamental social and national changes within the capitalist countries and within the developing countries or with regard to the building and further development of real socialism.

Secondly: At the basis of the struggle for social progress there lie contradictions or impulses characteristic of individual countries including those between peoples and their foreign colonial masters and the native

supporters of such masters so that social processes, including socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions can be neither created nor imposed from without. External conditions can facilitate this struggle or render it more difficult but nevertheless they are only capable of exerting influence.

However, the struggle for peaceful coexistence has as its point of departure the international opposition between socialism and capitalism as mutually opposed antagonistic social systems. Here the consent of specific ruling forces in capitalist countries to processes of detente depends essentially upon such factors existing outside of capitalism as, for example, the strength of real socialism and its radiated power as exercised upon peoples still living under exploitation. These external factors are thus direct factors of effectiveness for the peaceful coexistence of states having different social orders.

Thirdly: Both the struggle for democracy and social progress and socialist revolutions and national liberation struggles existed prior to the reality of peaceful coexistence and they continue to exist side by side with it. However, the necessity for the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist states arose at the moment of the victory of the first socialist revolution. The possibility of continuously normal relations between such states is admittedly bound up with a certain level of development in the social progress of the world.

Fourthly: Important as peaceful coexistence may be in the life of all mankind it will never be capable of eliminating the international antagonism which underlies it. Nevertheless, together with the possibility of the elimination of war the creation of detente and the formation of mutually advantageous cooperation it also presents the possibility that it will terminate in the complete victory of socialism all over the earth. But the conquest of antagonism itself can be accomplished only through elimination of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism within the individual capitalist countries and hence through revolutionary actions of the workers of these countries.

Fifthly: Peaceful coexistence has that form of international relationships between socialism and capitalism guaranteeing to the peoples their physical existence, constricts the area of action of imperialism to the extent that its essential aggressiveness cannot degenerate into military conflict. But at the same time it contains a form of cooperation which is mutually advantageous both for socialist and capitalist states and is also in the interest of bourgeois circles many of which, of course, hope for the realization of aggressive aims--particularly counterrevolutionary ones. In contradistinction to this social progress is exclusively advantageous to the working class as well as to all other workers and hence to the majority of every people. It can be accomplished only at the expense of the exploiting minority, that is, it requires that they be combated, progressively suppressed and finally stripped of power.

Because of these differences it is necessary that various domains of political life not be confused, namely: the domain of social development in the individual countries, which represents an objective tendency making its way under arbitrary international conditions, and the domain of international relations in which questions of war and peace are decided, methods of regulating controversial international problems are worked out and procedures are sought for assuring mutually advantageous cooperation. Thus it is absurd to seek to transfer modes of contest of one domain into another or to elevate them into a general criterion.

The characteristic features of the process of detente are: development in the direction of democratically constitutional security and mutually advantageous cooperation upon the part of states which are opposed to the system but nevertheless have equal rights. These features have neither validity nor usefulness for the social liberation struggle or for the national liberation struggle. For the parties in this domain are not partners have equal status but rather stand in the relationship of the exploited to the exploiter, the oppressed to the oppressor. Conversely, one cannot and may not recognize as playing a role in international discussions that legitimate right to wage class warfare and national warfare in the interior of a country in all its forms including armed action.

Peaceful Coexistence--Simultaneously a Factor for Peace and a Form of Class Struggle on an International Plane

Peaceful coexistence is a specific form of class conflict. Its peculiarity consists on the one hand in the fact that it is a conflict in the clearly delimited domain of the international relations between socialism and capitalism. But secondly it is a conflict having a specific nature and mode. It encompasses all three sides of this controversy--the economic, political and ideological sides--but excludes armed controversy, subversive activity, as well as other actions opposed to the rights of peoples and is at the same time bound up with a kind of cooperation which is mutually useful to the parties and partners engaged in it.

International detente as a currently concrete expression of peaceful coexistence is therefore more than merely the limitation of controversy between states of the "east" and of the "west" to specific means. From the Marxist-Leninist point of view "detente ... means, to be sure, first and foremost an effort to eliminate war as a means of politics, as an instrument for resolving conflicts. But more than this it involves the achievement during such detente of cooperation advantageous to both sides in all areas." [9] Detente is necessary both because there must be no more war and also especially because only in peaceful coexistence is it possible to attain that cooperation which is indispensable in the face of those growing problems which are solvable only on a global scale.

Realistic bourgeois politicians and theoreticians take a similar view of detente. The current secretary of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany], Egon Bahr, wrote: "Controversy between the different systems cannot

be eliminated.... Detente means subjecting this controversy to regulation." Detente, according to Bahr, is a phase of historical development "which is characterized by the simultaneous existence of conflict and cooperation, reduced conflict and limited cooperation." [10] And the director of the FRG Institute for Politics and Economics--Haus Rissen--in Hamburg, Gerhard Merzyn, formulates it this way: "We find ourselves in a state of permanent contradiction between rivalry, competition on the one hand and on the other hand cooperation, understanding and efforts to inspire confidence. Hence rules of the game are necessary in order that between two very different systems peace may be made more secure, war more avoidable and armament on both sides more controllable." [11]

Thus peaceful coexistence as a specific form of class conflict in international life is at the same time an extremely significant instrument in the preservation of peace--which is the most important task of our epoch. At the same time it must be remembered that imperialism's essential aggressiveness, including military aggressiveness, is no longer directed primarily against imperialist competitors but rather against actual socialism or against efforts on the part of colonial peoples and formerly dependent countries to endow their national liberation struggle with socially progressive features.

The elimination of the most reactionary and inhuman forms of struggle in worldwide class conflict--war and the Cold War which conjures it up--has an importance which cannot be overestimated. The choice between military and peaceful controversy is today not simply a choice between two possible forms of conflict but is rather a choice between guaranteeing or risking the existence of humanity. Hence there exists no rational alternative to peaceful coexistence. The question of peace has become the question of questions.

Peaceful coexistence represents at the same time an indispensable intermediate step in the historical process leading from a condition of continuous warfare waged by the exploiting powers to a condition of permanent peace as the natural form of life in humanity-liberating communist society. With the establishment of peaceful coexistence as the main tendency of international life it is possible to interrupt the vicious circle of war--postwar period--prewar period--renewed war. A new epoch is initiated in which peace has ceased to be merely a pause between two wars.

The possibility has now been attained of rendering peaceful coexistence from now on just as permanent as may be historically required--that is, for the entire further duration of the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. However, since imperialism together with its aggressiveness continues to be present the now actual possibility of permanent peace continues to exist subject to conditions under which it is not possible to exclude the danger of the precipitation of abrupt shifts in international life as a result of adventurous operations on the part of imperialist world reactionaries. Erich Honecker said, regarding the dialectics of permanent peace as a real and at the same time complicated task:

"At the very same time in which we speak, and I believe rightly, of the progress of detente and of the necessity for making detente irreversible tension on the international plane has increased in not a few areas." He went on to observe that the preservation of peace requires "that the most aggressive circles of imperialism be tamed by determined struggle on the part of the peoples, in other words that they should be prevented from transforming their plans into action. If in this decisive sphere there is success then there will also be further progress in all areas of cooperation between states. If this does not come about then detente will be endangered and even that which has been achieved placed in question." [12]

When it has been established that peaceful coexistence is at one and the same time class warfare and a factor for peace then this twofold nature carries with it the simple implication that socialism and capitalism as fundamentally differing social systems are not only opposed to one another but also by the logic of life are at the same time involved in extensive international ties. Both aspects of the matter are of an objective nature and both realities together with the needs to which they give rise find their recognition and representation in the Leninist Idea and Politics of peaceful coexistence among states having differing social orders.

Interaction Between Peaceful Coexistence and Social Progress in the National Context

Since peaceful coexistence and social progress exhibit both common features and specific differences there results a reciprocal relationship between them. This relationship becomes apparent first of all in the genesis of peaceful coexistence. The necessity for peaceful coexistence, its possibility and reality depend principally upon the different specific degrees of maturity in the three revolutionary currents, depending in particular upon a specific relationship of forces between real socialism and monopolistic capitalism. In addition to the level of social progress also such objective factors as qualitatively changed military technology and the internationalization of economic life and of environmental problems have promoted the breakthrough into detente.

The relationship of peaceful coexistence to social progress is secondly a consequence of the fact that coexistence itself also possesses the profoundest socially progressive content as a phenomenon in the international domain. It is an expression of progressive historical development when detente replaces those relationships of war or of cold war determined by the aggressive logic of imperialism by that logic of peace in international relations which is characteristic of socialism.

There has been thereby already demonstrated the beneficent effect of socialism for human beings all over the globe even before the new society has triumphed everywhere. This beneficent effect is just as apparent as the creative essence and international importance as that Leninism which may be discerned in it, for Lenin announced the idea of the peaceful coexistence of

socialist and capitalist states, today a reality, as early as the moment of its first historical necessity six decades ago. Peaceful coexistence is that "primary form of class conflict in the world between rising socialism and historically fully exhausted capitalism" [13] demanded, shaped and fought for by socialism.

Thirdly, the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and social progress expresses itself in the fact that international detente has a positive effect upon the struggle for social progress within the national framework. It creates for this struggle the objectively most favorable foreign-political conditions.

Naturally, in every country the activities of the workers on the social plane are brought about in a manner which is independent of the foreign-political situation. They have a certain regularity and evolve both under imperialist aggression and in peace. But in their role as influencing factors the various foreign-political conditions nevertheless have different effects upon social progress in individual countries.

Thus the preparation of aggressive wars and these wars themselves can, it is true, mobilize the people to increased resistance, but history teaches us also that in imperialist war the labor movement is suppressed with special forcibleness, the working population decimated and material productive forces massively destroyed and this results in less favorable preconditions for social progress. And although war as an imperialist crime is answered in many countries by revolutionary conflict and has even led to revolution, nevertheless it is by no means a prerequisite of revolution. But peaceful coexistence creates foreign-political conditions which are of unqualified advantage to social progress in all countries and to all three revolutionary currents. W. W. Sagladin declared "that under the conditions of detente there are created the conditions which are purest and most free from artificial obstacles to the development of social processes." [14]

Peaceful coexistence places limits upon imperialist opportunities for undermining socialist countries. In particular the imperialists have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty and the territorial boundaries of states in the socialist world system. At the same time there are increased opportunities for socialism to liberate still more forces and resources for industry, culture and the social area and thereby for the full unfolding of its virtues.

International detente also facilitates the struggle of the workers in the industrially developed capitalist countries. In particular the military detente thrust by the socialist states into the center of the conflict [sic] could liberate gigantic resources for the improvement of the material and cultural life of the masses of the people. Detente in addition promotes the activity of the antiimperialist democratic movement which is directed outward against aggression and inward against reaction. It strengthens the consciousness of the masses of the people that they are capable of determining their own destiny and of beating back the power of imperialism. It resolves contradictions between the various branches of monopoly capitalism

and creates better preconditions for the repression of anticommunism in the thinking of the workers.

History also shows that while the Cold War under the motto "We Are All in the Same Boat" gave rise to an unnatural bond between imperialist aggressors and portions of those people interested in peace yet in the struggle for detente there developed a growing cooperation among various peace forces against reactionaries hostile to detente. If the Cold War was characterized by internal political restrictions against bourgeois democratic liberties and while it strengthened existing fascistic regimes in Europe, nevertheless it was possible in parallel to the detente process to eliminate the Greek Obrist regime, Portuguese fascism and the Franco dictatorship in Spain in addition to putting into retreat various antidemocratic measures in other countries. These results do not exclude the possibility that in the future attempts will be made to make bedfellows of anticommunist unity fronts, to propagate fascistic ideas, to tolerate or even support neo-Nazi organizations and to launch attacks aimed at dismantling democratic rights.

Yet it may be asserted in summary that "the results achieved in the area of peaceful coexistence--results which have by no means slackened the struggle against capitalism and imperialism--by strengthening and confirming their unity of action and the development of their mutual solidarity for peace, freedom, independence, progress and socialism offer better conditions for waging the class struggle in each individual country and on an international plane with greater firmness." [15]

International detente also has a positive effect upon the liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Though it is true that "all colonial wars and acts of imperialist aggression in recent decades were commenced under the necessity of defending 'the distant boundaries of freedom,' to counter the 'penetration of communism' ... detente (nevertheless amplifies) significantly the chances of the forces of national and social liberation in resisting imperialist pressure." The ending of the Cold War makes it easier for them to cope successfully with the struggle for economic liberation. They can better "use their growing political potential in order to achieve the creation of proper conditions of commercial trade and to adopt other measures in bridging the gap in economic development." [16] Significant financial and other means of accelerating the elimination of hunger, misery and sickness in these regions would be made available if humanity were freed from the lash of competitive armament.

That peaceful coexistence creates favorable foreign-political conditions for social progress in every country [17] is a circumstance of an objective nature. This objectively favorable circumstance does not by itself connote social progress and does not have social progress automatically as its consequence. What is involved is a chance, an improved possibility. Whether or not this chance is used or transformed into reality by the forces representing social progress in the individual countries remains the decisive factor.

Just as international detente at the same time constitutes a form of social progress in the same way, of course, every form of social progress in a country possesses features which promote peace. And that is the fourth characteristic of the dialectics of peaceful coexistence and social progress.

Change in the social conditions of a country in the interest of the workingman and establishment of the power of the workers and their allies have never done injury to peace, but rather have always created new and stronger positions for peace. For those politicians who are most reactionary in the social domain and the ideologues of imperialism are at the same time also the powers who are most aggressive and most inimical to detente. And conversely: improvement in the situation, enhancement of the influence and finally the establishment of the power of the working class and of their allies are stages of progress for those forces in human history who base their existence and their welfare exclusively upon their own work and to whom wars have always brought only the greatest misery. Just as exploitation evokes the impulse toward aggression and war economically so labor requires as an economic necessity and brings forth peace as an international principle. [18]

The Soviet Union became the first nationally organized homeland of peace; at its birth it uttered the call for peace "to all" and since then has been the main bulwark of peace. With the formation of the socialist world system the power of peace has developed into a great bastion.

Thus appears as an organic interrelationship the fact that "detente promotes social progress ... and social progress promotes detente." [19] "The struggle for social progress and socialism and the struggle for peaceful coexistence of nations with different social orders form a single unit." [20] Although both of them are very closely associated yet they are also dual. Peace is neither a simple consequence of the strength of socialism nor is it a mere instrument toward further social progress. War or peace is the basic existential question of humanity and peace has an irreplaceable value of its own. Without peace there is no life and without life no social progress. Without the existence of real socialism--the highest stage of social progress which has been attained--the basic existential question of humanity would, however, be insoluble.

The Enemies of Detente Renew the Propaganda of the Cold War

The progress which has been achieved in the national relationships between "east" and "west" is condemned by those forces of imperialism who are openly hostile to detente not least of all because the shift from the Cold War to peaceful coexistence is simultaneously bound up with positive effects upon social progress. This viewpoint may be found in concentrated form in an anthology [21] which has appeared in the FRG published by the right-conservative ideologist G. Kaltenbrunner and in which such reactionary authors as R. Aron, S. T. Possony, H. Schoeck and E. Topitzsch express their views.

They attack international detente from an extremely anticommunist position. The Leninist Idea and Politics of peaceful existence they impune as a "threat against the west." The readiness of certain portions of the ruling class in capitalism to deviate from the "politics of strength" and from other aggressive strategies against socialism during the fifties and sixties is decried as "decadence," "a false alternative," "suicide" or as a "strategy of cowardice." It is openly maintained that the "west" need have no "fear of the Cold War." More than that, they attempt once again to justify the motto of the Cold War, "Better Dead Than Red." The total reactionary crowning of it all, the final closing of the book is summed up in the plea: "The free west will be able to maintain itself only when it sinks in the categories of war."

In such utterances the aggressive nature of imperialism manifests itself in its own naked and brutal way. Plainly apparent in them is both contempt of mankind as well as the defensive posture of imperialism--a social order for which war, or at least the continuous danger of war, is represented as a necessity of existence and which in consequence in order to maintain the exploitation of man by men is willing to include in its calculations the extermination of men by men. And correspondingly detente is defamed as "decadence," that is, as "a cultural decline," "being soft" or "degeneration" while peaceful coexistence is condemned as "suicide for fear of death."

But this is naturally nothing other than a call to stay in the trenches of the cold or even of the hot war just because peaceful coexistence represents social progress and facilitates it; at the same time it is a drastic expression of the "logic" of aggressive thinking, an open declaration of the anti-humanist character of materialism.

Actually, peace is of great usefulness for socialism--but it is by no means of service exclusively to socialism. The preservation of peace is again to all men, to all sections of society with the exception of the tiny but powerful clique of war profiteers and others having an interest in war who are unwilling to yield up the profits coming to them from the escalation of armament.

Because socialism and peace constitute one unity and correspondingly it was the USSR which proposed the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe it does not follow by the laws of logic that peace is only of "one-sided advantage" to socialism or that detente is merely a "one-way street favoring the USSR" as enemies of detente maintain. Rather one can logically draw the inference that real socialism points the way to peace and the USSR is the primary agent in the preservation and deepening of international detente.

The Thesis of "Social Status Quo"--Illusionary, Reactionary and Counter to Detente

If both international detente and social progress are opposed with the anti-communist distortion which has been mentioned there is also another anticom-munist contention which constitutes a contradiction between both factors. Progress in international life, to which approval is given, is linked up with a demand that internal social conditions in the "west" be underwritten. It is supposed that the policy of detente on the part of socialist countries is equivocal since in fact it renounces war between states but continues to approve class struggle within the capitalist countries. [22]

The real schism lies in that bourgeois attitude which favors progress in international life but is at the same time opposed to social progress in individual countries. This schism arises from the inconsistent interests of realistically thinking circles among the ruling class in capitalism. On the one hand they require coexistence because they fear nonexistence in the event of a world war triggered by the most aggressive of the imperialist forces, but on the other hand they want coexistence between socialism and capitalism to petrify into an eternally parallel existence of the two social orders. And thus there arises a position which is untenable:

First of all, this position is based upon the view that it is possible to halt social progress, which itself is looked upon as an illusion in many bourgeois conceptions of the history of mankind. At the same time it ignores the revolutionary character of our epoch--a disregard which in view of the history of the last 60 years may be called "ignorance" indeed. Since society is continuously changing as a consequence of the development of productive forces and since for thousands of years it has at the same time been split into opposed classes there never has been nor is there now any "social truce" nor a "freeze" of the power relationship between the classes. This is particularly true today when the most profound, most extensive and most complicated restratification of history, the transition from millenia of exploitation to humanity-liberating communist society is taking place world-wide.

Secondly, the thesis of "social status quo" is based upon an application of the concept of detente to an area to which it cannot properly be applied. It extends the recognition of the status quo in international life to the social political relationships between antagonistic classes within the states. But between the two there exist fundamental differences both with regard to the relevant domain and particularly now with regard to the subject matter--as politicians and ideologists, who live in a class society, clearly understand, of course. Recognition of the national-territorial status quo is a necessary institution which must be guaranteed by the law of democratic peoples. The underwriting of a "social status quo"--of the power relationship between the classes in each state--is objectively impossible and hence as absurd as it is irrelevant on the basis of the rights of peoples.

Where economic exploitation prevails there will be class conflict. Where political suppression exists the masses rise up. Where national servitude exists there evolves the people's war of liberation. Where men are intellectually oppressed or manipulated they create a front against such oppression. Where aggressors carry out their dangerous handiwork the movement for peace gathers its forces. And where the power of labor and of the farmers has been established the workers, under the guidance of their Marxist-Leninist party, undertake ever new efforts for further social progress to a higher stage and for the further development of their socialist society.

No document between states can prohibit these processes any more than they might have been initiated by an international agreement. Besides all attempts to hinder social progress through international treaties (e.g., through the establishment of the Holy Alliance in 1815, through the Karlsbad Resolutions of 1819, or through the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936) have suffered lamentable shipwreck. Agreements serving the interest of detente and of peaceful coexistence are, moreover, no treaties of a reactionary nature like those just mentioned, but actually make progress toward democratic relations significant even on an international plane. International agreements carried out in such a spirit cannot be placed in opposition to other progressive processes in the world. What is more, they not only do not prohibit socially progressive activity but they even to a certain extent offer it a more favorable context.

The thesis of the "social status quo" therefore overlooks the fact that thirdly socially progressive action is in accord with the fundamental principles of the Helsinki Resolutions. Thus it was that there the right which proceeds from the sovereign equality of each state was emphasized, namely, that right to "choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural system freely" (Principle I). [23] Point VIII contains the norm which states that "by virtue of the principle of equal rights and of the right of self-determination of peoples ... all peoples at all times have the right in full freedom when and as they wish to determine their internal and external political status in the absence of interference from without and to pursue their political, economic, social and cultural development in accord with their own wishes." [24]

Through the claim contained in Principle VII--respect for the rights of man and fundamental freedoms--to "the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms" [25] there is also guaranteed the right of the working masses to work in the spirit of the world historical mission of the working class to "overthrow all conditions in which man is a degraded, a servile, abandoned and contemptible being." [26] And finally the resolution contains the declaration arising from the noninterference clause (Principle VI) opposing the export of counterrevolution, namely, to refrain from "direct or indirect support of terrorist activities or subversive or other activities ..., aiming at the violent overthrow of the regime of another participant state." [27]

Fourthly, the allegation that there is a contradiction between the renunciation of war in international life and the recognition of class and national struggles is based both on an inadmissible equating of the terms "struggle" and "war" as well as being based upon an effacement of the differences between wars between states and civil wars or national wars of liberation. It is well known that not every struggle is war although every war is a specific form of struggle. Only the most reactionary imperialist forces, especially the militaristic and fascistic ideologues, have put an equal sign between both phenomenon.

Alleged Contradiction Between International Detente and Armed Struggle for Liberation

When many advocates of detente and opponents of detente maintain that the recognition given by socialist countries to the principle of armed national and social struggles together with support of such struggles constitute acts which imperil detente [23] then they are deliberately overlooking the factors which lead to civil wars and wars of liberation. They are succumbing to a conscious "confusion" of cause and effect which is perpetrated especially by propaganda which is hostile to detente or else they knowingly attribute to the Soviet Union a policy of "expansion of its imperium," of "interference in the affairs of other states" and the like only in order to divert attention from their own policy of competitive armament of support--even military--for reactionary regimes and of the employment of mercenary troops throughout the world, doing this in order to find excuses for their destructive posture with regard to questions of disarmament or in carrying out UNO resolutions directed against imperialist aggressions.

The united assistance of the USSR, Cuba and other socialist states to the armed liberation struggle of the Angolan people is the direct opposite of the hostility to detente which is attributed by imperialism to Soviet policy. For there international tension was created not by the liberation movement but rather by Portuguese colonial domination which up until the fall of the Caetano clique in Lisbon enjoyed the direct or the tolerant support of all NATO partners and this domination was decisively strengthened when at the time the colonial regime was being smashed foreign mercenaries, especially from racist South Africa and supported with U.S. aid, intervened against liberation and thus trod under foot all the determinations of the UNO. Because of this presence and employment of reactionary armed force by other countries it became necessary to support the revolutionary struggle of the Angolan people in response to the call of its government by giving international aid and by using military force to eliminate the resulting international focus of conflict.

The situation is exactly the same in the conflict in the horn of Africa. When the USSR, other socialist European states and Cuba guaranteed aid and support at the request of Ethiopia when it was subjected to violent assault they did so both in accord with UNO declarations regarding individual and collective self-defense in the event of aggression and also in consistency

with respect for the sovereignty, the borders and territorial integrity of states and consistently with the prohibition of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and the prohibition of threats of force or the use of force between countries. In addition it should be remembered that the American people, too, in their armed struggle for independence in 1776 received military aid from other countries which was highly valued by George Washington and which is still given explicit recognition today.

The Marxist-Leninist viewpoint regarding the relation between international detente and international solidarity for national liberation struggles in all forms was completely formulated by L. I. Brezhnev in the words: "Peace, noninterference in internal affairs, respect for independence and territorial integrity, equal rights and mutually advantageous cooperation--all of these are also the indispensable and most important constituents of detente and of a lasting peace. This is our policy in Europe, likewise in Africa and in Asia, and in Latin America--in all parts of the world. And if anyone thinks that he can deflect the Soviet Union from this course by libelous inventions and threats then he is seriously mistaken.... It was precisely because of the solidarity of progressive forces that it was possible to nullify the attempts of imperialism and its lackeys when they aimed at overthrowing the popular power in Angola and at dismembering revolutionary Ethiopia." [29] As strictly as the socialist states reject the "export of revolutions," with equal consistency they also oppose the "export of counterrevolution."

Anticommunist Lies About the "Revolutionary World Process as a Striving for World Domination on the Part of the Soviet Union"

Among the anticommunist libels regarding peaceful coexistence and social progress the principal ones are the claims that social progress is "an ideologically motivated striving for world power on the part of the Kremlin," [30] that peaceful coexistence is "a tactical breathing space in this process" [31] and that revolutionary movements in various countries are only "extensions of Moscow's arms or Moscow's fifth columns." [32] The aim here is both to place the Soviet peace policy in question and also to defame every movement for social and national progress--anywhere in the world--or to seduce such movements into "dissociation from the USSR."

These "western" claims ignore the unbridgeable antitheses with respect to content, forces, means and effects characterizing the revolutionary world process and imperialist striving for world domination. The former involves popular activities aimed at establishing social progress, a process which has either already taken place under the leadership of the working class or (especially in colonial liberation) under the leadership of other antiimperialist partly national-bourgeois forces; but in the other case what is involved is an expansion of the reactionary property, profit and power relationships of the capitalist upper stratum of a country.

Social progress is preceded neither by exported revolution nor by military actions directed at other countries while the defense of capitalist power

interests and profit interests has always been followed by the contriving of counterrevolutions and colonial wars in other countries. Every striving for world domination injures social progress--every success in the struggle for social progress is at the same time an effective step toward the taming and repression of imperialist world domination politics.

Naturally, those forces who impel the revolutionary world process in all countries share the common feature that they struggle against imperialism for democracy and socialism. But this, merely because the Soviet Union was the first to carry it out, is, of course, not a "Soviet process." The fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class is an international process. But as Marx and Engels have already said: "The proletariat of each country must naturally first dispose of its own bourgeoisie." [33] "People who believe that revolution can arise in a foreign country on order, by agreement, are"--as Lenin asserted--"either crazy or provocateurs." [34] If in the world historic liberation process because of historical circumstances the USSR has in fact been in the van of the world proletariat nevertheless the USSR is not therefore the only actor in this process; it is as Lenin wrote "a division, a part of the proletarian and socialist world army." [35] But it is and remains the first and the strongest of the divisions, is "Primus inter pares"--which has nothing to do with hegemony.

Hence progress and the victory of the working class and of their allies in any arbitrary country do not represent "the export of revolution from the USSR" nor the work of "agents of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." And the solidarity of the first worker and peasant state with its class-brothers in other countries is not interference but natural international reaction to a movement originating in these countries themselves.

But it is interference when official representatives of the United States, of the FRG and other NATO states threaten to carry out blackmailing measures against Italy and other countries if there elected communists participate in the government or when the U.S. Secret Service contrives reactionary putsches in other countries and supports special units for this purpose or finances them to physically destroy politicians and fighters for freedom who are not agreeable to imperialism. Shortly after the Helsinki Conference the bourgeois FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in a provocative manner declared as its credo with regard to the Portuguese and other revolutions: "Intervention is dead--long live meddling." [36]

Anyone who maintains that peaceful coexistence is a "tactical consideration in Soviet striving for world domination" ignores the fact that a course of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries has been the foreign-political maxim of the Soviet state from the very first day of its existence and is thus not of a tactical nature and that the obstruction or interruption of achieved relationships of peaceful coexistence have always been attributable to the intrigues of imperialist forces. In addition the attempt is made by means of such anti-Soviet argumentation to efface the contrast between peaceful coexistence and imperialist power politics. The one stands

for the application of democratic principles in international relations while the other represents on the contrary disregard for and breach of such principles.

Detente came about only with the success of the struggle against power political practices, against revanchist nonrecognition of postwar boundaries, the embargo politics of NATO, the sole-representative claim of the FRG and the dirty war of the United States in China.

Peaceful Coexistence--No Endorsement of the Undermining of Real Socialism

Peaceful coexistence cannot be a guarantee of the eternal permanency of capitalism nor indeed of its colonialism. No more is it a lever for the "destabilization" or even elimination of socialism. That this should be emphasized is rendered all the more necessary by the fact that forces inimical to detente now as ever are carrying out a strategy against the socialist countries which is nothing but a continuation of the Cold War under other circumstances and by other means. Thus, for example, Jackson and Huntington in a study for the American president plead for an "era two of the Cold War" which after the "first era of the Cold War" and a "transitional phase" of detente will "unite cold war and cooperation." [37]

Inside and outside the Christian Socialist Union and the Christian Democrat Union in the FRG, which are hostile to detente, likewise permit themselves to be guided by that idea which Franz Josef Strauss years ago called the line of transition "from stationary combat to a war of movement" against real socialism. "The west must," said Strauss, "see coexistence and detente as political weapons with which it can promote a 'democratization' and 'liberalization' within the communist camp with the object of their overcoming communism from within." [38] No different is the intention of the CSU state chairman in the FRG Parliament, Zimmermann, who thinks that he has found in the attacks by anticommunist human rights demagoguery a "vehicle" against the socialist community of states. [39] And this intention is shared by the former CDU general secretary Biedenkopf who wants to use detente to "destabilize the east bloc." [40]

The Fronde which is inimical to detente in consequence sees international negotiations between "east" and "west" from only one angle (and this was made unmistakably clear by the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE on the eve of the Belgrade meeting): how one can put the Soviet Union and other socialist states "under pressure to change." [41]

But also the coexistence doctrines of those prodetente forces in the ruling class of capitalist countries bear, besides features of realistic detente policy, the stamp either of direct elements of a subversive strategy directed against the socialist community or of other considerations aiming at processes which are directed against real socialism. In the former case the intention is through "hard bargaining" to make ascent to further steps in detente dependent upon internal social and other "concessions" on the part

of socialist states or by one-sided emphasis just of individual aspects of the KSZE resolution and by separating them from the totality of the basic principles they seek to place such aspects at the service of the goals of subversion, that is, of meddling.

In the other case bourgeois and social democratic advocates of detente do not want to influence the internal affairs of the socialist states so openly; they set their hopes upon the prospect that in consequence of the increase in cooperation and communication resulting from peaceful coexistence there will arise in socialism potentials for disorder, softening and overthrow.

The present anticommunist strategy is characterized on the one hand by renewed trotting out of the oldest slogans of crass anticommunism about the alleged lack of freedom and the "totalitarianism" in the socialist states. On the other hand increasingly refined anticommunist arguments may be heard which affect to plead for a "better socialism." It is precisely by means of such refined anticommunism as the hypocritical invocation of generally democratic human rights and their adaptation to the purposes of meddling that the anticommunist strategy hopes to encourage so-called dissidents in the socialist states and to give them publicity.

With the assistance of such slanderers and of persons condemned by due process of law they aim at creating organized groups of counterrevolutionary forces. Speaking of this tactic the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote: Since "at the present time a movement (antisocialist--the author) broadly based in the populace is obviously out of the question" the "dissidents" should avoid everything "which might drive them into the dock reserved for enemies of the system." They should not, so goes the advice from Frankfurt am Main, as yet make socialism "in its totality the subject of debate"; rather, it is recommended that "no frontal attack be conducted against the political and social system" but "individual, relatively insignificant, undramatic actions of solidarity" should be organized against it in order to achieve "continuity and breadth" or "to permit the development of a social consensus." [42]

Here the intention is after the counterrevolution "reform course" has been worn out and the direct counterrevolutionary course of overthrow has been discontinued, that a new method be tried out--a course of long-term preparation of the counterrevolution. [43] That "evolutionary strategy" is to be taken up again which Brzezinski had inferred from the collapse of the counterrevolutionary "reform" action of 1968 in the CSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic] and introduced into his "idea of detente": namely, that the so-called "democratization of communism" will be an "extraordinarily complicated process," a "slow process"; and in consequence "ideological boring from within" ... would have to be "the decisive source of political change in communist societies"; and that thereby "the role played by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had again acquired importance." [44]

This counterrevolutionary antisocialist strategy oriented toward the long term is at the same time inimical to detente. This it is precisely because

either it aims at direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of the socialist states or approaches detente negotiations not on the principle of mutual advantage but from the point of view of attempted blackmail, a kind of politics of "strength" as well as of conscious injury to the socialist partner.

Thus it appears that ruling circles in the capitalist countries desire that in the name of detente there should be maintenance of the social status quo in the "west" but at the same time pursue the social "status quo minus"--read "counterrevolution"--for the "east." The strategy of conserving the state-monopolistic order and of negative change in the conditions of socialism corresponds to the reactionary "logic" of imperialist goals in accord with the various stages in the analysis of the system [Systemauseinandersetzung]. But it has nothing to do with the preservation of peace. For to dispense with suppression of monopoly power by the workers in the capitalist countries means continued existence of the bases of imperialist aggressiveness and means in particular unimpeded freedom of action for the military industrial complex while diversion against real socialism aims at weakening the primary force for peace on this planet.

No Room for Social-Reactionary Misuse of Peaceful Coexistence

The opinion according to which (since the socialist countries and the communists of the capitalist states reject the thesis of the maintenance of the social status quo in the "west") the "west" can infer from reasons of alleged logic and from the principle of mutuality in detente that it has the right to promote change in the social conditions of socialist countries is an opinion which is as hostile to peace as it is reactionary. For change in social status in today's capitalist world in favor of social progress is and remains an affair of the people themselves; reactionary change in the social status quo in the socialist states, however, is intended by the anticommunists to be initiated from the outside. Thus there can be no talk of "mutuality." Besides, the principle of mutuality in the detente agreements, that is to say international agreements, can never concern anything but relations between states and never the internal social conditions of the participating countries.

There exists no symmetry or reciprocity between on the one hand the favorable external conditions [created] for social progress by peaceful coexistence and on the other hand the intention to exploit detente for subversive purposes against socialism. The "favorable external conditions" for social progress are factors which arise objectively in the interest of the millions of working people, but "use for subversive purposes" can only take place as a result of subjective class egoistic aims. The "favorable external conditions" are progressive effects of a progressive phenomenon while "use for subversive purposes" is reactionary misuse of this progressive phenomenon. The "favorable external conditions" and the principle of noninterference in international life are in harmony while "use of detente for subversive purposes" collides with the principle of noninterference. The "favorable

external conditions" are a progressive opportunity while the "use for subversive purposes" is a consciously reactionary mode of action. Therefore favorable external conditions for social progress are a normal product of peaceful coexistence while their use for subversive purposes against socialism is at the same time directed against international detente.

The possibility of peaceful coexistence arose at a particular stage in the conflict of the systems. In the interest of peace and of social progress it must not be turned against its real sense, neither in such a manner that peaceful coexistence should be degraded into becoming the security police for the perpetuation of crisis-racked imperialism so as to also perpetuate the danger of war which it produces nor [should peaceful coexistence be so perverted] that international detente is misapplied as a crutch for subversive ambitions against socialism, which is the strongest bastion of peace. Rather, in the future, too, peaceful coexistence and social progress must be strengthened and impelled forward primarily through the strengthening of socialism.

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HUNGARY

OBJECTIVES FOR UPCOMING PARTY SCHOOL YEAR DEFINED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Sep 78 pp 3-8

[Article by Karoly Grosz, Central Committee department head: "Facing the New Party School Year"]

[Text] This year we finished the first school year of party education, begun to implement the Central Committee resolution of 26 October 1976. At the beginning of the school year the party organ carefully determined the current content of party education and the organizational agenda on the basis of political needs.

Experience with the school content and the fact that the students thoroughly followed the courses with lively interest justify the subject designated by the Central Committee: the role of the socialist state, power and government, and questions of social democracy. It is our unanimous opinion that they are developing democracy and strengthening a spirit of public support in our society, and insulating us against formalism and an attitude disparaging democratic leadership. On the other hand it is true that there are still students who have difficulty understanding personal responsibility and the organic relationships found in democracy. They demand more and more that greater attention be given to satisfying their needs as well as their rights. Party training has comprehensively developed material on socialist patriotism and internationalism. It is a well-known fact that these two concepts cannot be separated from one another. Service in the national interest is unimaginable without a committed internationalistic attitude.

There is great interest among the students in questions of the socialist way of life. They concur in the viewpoint that we can only successfully approach the lower middle class if, instead of railing against undesirable incidents, we educate people to comply with the standards of a worthwhile view of life and conduct. In conformity with the condition of our national economy and the peculiarities of its development, economic questions and the immediate and more distant tasks of production and management have been given an important place in our propaganda. In comparison to earlier students, the party school students are more conversant with the position of the national

economy and with the processes taking place in world economy, and thus they can judge the state of our economy and the possibilities of economic development more realistically. They fully realize that we must tenaciously deal with changed economic conditions, but many still do not realize what tasks replacing the burdens of the national economy lays upon them personally.

Party propaganda more and more consistently aids in the formation of a spirit of dialectic materialism and in propagating the Marxist-Leninist worldview. It is making better strides toward connecting the traditional teachings of Marxism-Leninism with the results of the newest research in the social studies and with the practical questions of developing socialist society and economy.

The level of instructional organization and direction has risen considerably. On every level party propaganda has transformed the organic part of party political activity. The leading party organs and the lower organizations are all paying greater attention to theoretical and political education. The level and effectiveness of the latter have been considerably raised through the contribution provided by the fact that the training and further education of the propagandists has been expanded and improved in content. The modern teachers are making a knowledge of methodology more and more their own and employing it more and more.

On the basis of experience the Central Committee Resolution of 19-20 April 1978 stated: "Elements of awareness and the role of party ideological activity are increasing in close connection with progress in building socialism and with intensification of the international ideological struggle. The entire area of ideology and culture has the common task of directing public attention to a greater extent to moral questions and to the ideas most important from the viewpoint of social development: of raising the dignity of labor, of strengthening public spirit and of deepening socialist patriotism and internationalism." This presents the work of propaganda with a number of theoretical political tasks.

The first task is that we must more effectively deal with the human side of building our social economy. We know that socialist productive relations always take place in concrete human relations. However, we must study their socialist content more thoroughly than in the past. It is necessary now for our social goals and social interests to become clear in people's thinking and to be expressed more intensively in their activity. The level and efficiency of our instructive and educational work must be raised. In this connection the role of training the communist personality and of increasing the ability of the leading communist cadres is growing.

The revolutionary attitude in the life of communists never appears in the abstract, but also in connection with their environment and a given community, that is, concrete persons. Opinions, views, attitudes and concrete activities come into contact with one another and produce a unity,

a harmony, through their interaction. Initiative, a revolutionary attitude and progressiveness today require a high degree of generosity and tenacious, durable work from the communists.

Party propaganda teaches and instructs party members that they are able to give their environments a little additional in everyday life. Along with other ways, this becomes clear in the fact that the better they understand the primary stimuli in human life and in human relations, the better they understand the worries and problems of people.

The conditions for theoretical political education today are favorable. The political climate in the country is good and in equilibrium, and under party leadership we are successfully implementing the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. This is filling the people with confidence and deepening the confidence they place in our policies. The socialist unity of the people and nation is becoming stronger, and the union of the working class, the peasants in cooperatives and the intelligentsia is becoming more stable. Socialist democracy is developing. The industrial and working community is being enriched with new elements which help considerably in raising the effectiveness of creative work. Sensitivity toward social questions and a readiness to discuss them is on a high level in our public life.

In addition there is a great deal of interest in studying Marxism-Leninism and in becoming acquainted with party policy. Since the Central Committee resolution of 26 October 1976, our party committees and party organizations have been analyzing the experience of propaganda work in a more profound way, in order to more precisely determine what still needs to be done in connection with our general and local social and economic programs.

Along with the favorable circumstances, some cares are also making the organization and direction of propaganda work difficult. The complexity of our domestic organizational work and our national position require every propagandist to react more rapidly to events with greater political responsiveness. A condition of this, on the other hand, is that we provide theoretically developed answers to the new questions. However, for many objective reasons, our theoretical work is not able to satisfy the rapidly changing needs.

The tasks of the 1978-1979 party school year are contained in the Central Committee guidelines for the resolutions of the Ninth Congress, the resolution of 26 October 1976 on party propaganda, the resolution of 20 October 1977 dealing with foreign trade tasks and the transformation of productive organization, the resolution of 15 March 1978 analyzing the further development of agriculture and the resolution of April 19-20, 1978 dealing with the experience of 3 years of work.

Realization of the tasks existing in the economic development line requires solid ideological and political knowledge, and also makes a certain change in outlook necessary for many questions. In connection with this we are also devoting more attention to such subjects as the change in the conditions

for economic expansion, the paths for the creation of economic equilibrium, the contacts between production and consumption, the common application of indicators and technical and economic criteria in economic development, changes in the productive organizations and foreign trade activity, all of which are important elements in increasing economic effectiveness.

Since the Central Committee resolution of 20 October 1977, "The overwhelming majority of decisions referring to the development of the productive organization comes under the province of enterprises." It is a task of party propaganda, knowing what has to be done in concrete situations, to point out the general and national aspirations. Even today it can be understood that we have to strive for an exact orientation. We must have a concrete knowledge of what our competitive products are or what they can be, and what is being forced into a decline in a given megye, factory, branch of industry and plant. Here it can naturally be said that this is not the task of party propaganda but of agitation. However, in our opinion, the principle that party propaganda must also aid in solving current economic tasks is a particularly proper and correct principle in this matter.

We are giving a great deal of care to a renewed treatment of the theoretical questions of our agrarian policy. We must begin with the fact that we should continue our agrarian and cooperative policies in accord with the resolutions of the Ninth Congress. Another fundamental task is the strengthening of the large-scale system of agriculture, the development of state farms and cooperatives, and socialist characteristics. Let us consistently support household and auxiliary farms, and let us collectively apply financial interests and moral encouragement to the development of their production. We consider it vital to understand that the realization of the agrarian and cooperative policies serve the interests of all of our working people.

An unchanging task is familiarization with our standard of living, social, price and rental policies. In the near future a number of economic policy decisions will be made which cannot be understood and implemented without proper theoretical preparedness. Another task of propaganda is to aid in forming public opinion in this area.

Some of the most important questions in our domestic policies are maintaining the confidence of the people, increasing respect for our party policies and developing the socialist unity of our people and nation. The socialist national unity is primarily a political unity, expressed in the fact that the great majority of workers are agreed on political ends and acknowledge that the program of creating socialism is theirs. The political unity has a solid base, the basic political identity of interests of every class and stratum, party members and those outside the party, atheists and believers, the nationalities living in our country, the young and old, and males and females. This naturally does not rule out that conflicts of interest may occur temporarily and in minor questions, but under the relationships of socialism these can be solved through common efforts. We must take our part in deepening this national unity through a comprehensive understanding of our policies and with a correct priority of interests.

Party propaganda cannot surrender its basic purpose, which is to promote the realization of ideological unity by conserving political unity. It is a long road to this point. Impatience only causes damage, but not making use of possibilities for development is also a mistake. Socialist national unity does not only mean an identity of views on policy, but also means unity in action. This commitment is manifested in deeds, primarily and socially in useful work. We must not forget that the popular and national unity has not come into existence once and for all, and therefore it must be struggled for again and again. This is a dialectic process in which temporary weakening and greater renovation of the unity creates an organic conformity.

The organizational policies of our country are the instruments for maintaining and strengthening the socialist popular and national unity. We have often said and must again emphasize that this is a theoretical policy valid for long periods of time, and that political organization can never mean elimination of ideological discussions and suppression of differences in theoretical views. However, ideological discussions are not ends in themselves, but are only justified if they clarify differences in viewpoints and serve to strengthen political unity. In our country the masses not only concur in implementing our policies, but at the same time are their creators and shapers. With their opinions and proposals they take a more and more active part in making and implementing national and local decisions. In the interests of strengthening this well-tested practice, our party openly exposes its concerns and its ideas to the people. It asks for the aid and active cooperation of every person who feels responsibility for the cause of socialism.

Questions of the international communist and labor movement and international policy also occupy a significant place in party propaganda. In expressing the educational work of ideology and policy we have become, not outsiders looking on, but participants in the international communist and labor movement, and in the continuing struggle to unify and strengthen this movement. This unity is an important condition for socialist developmental work. The strength and unity of the international communist and labor movement cannot be neglected in the worldwide struggle continuing between the two world systems, socialism and capitalism. Our party is an active initiator in strengthening the unity of the communist and labor parties, defends Marxism-Leninism, protects itself from the extreme leftist viewpoints of revisionists and soldiers of fortune, and unmasks the open or disguised bourgeois viewpoints.

The continuing struggle for peace and for disarmament is at the center of foreign political activity of our party, of our state. However, we are aware of the fact that detente and disarmament face considerable opposition in the capitalist world, because the military industrial complex and the political forces behind them are not interested in implementing the policy of peaceful coexistence. They connect this with such elements as, for example, mutual nuclear dependence or with the requirement that the socialist forces stop spreading their ideological influence.

Under the pretext of human rights the reactionary forces have begun a campaign against the socialist countries. However, this has essentially been reversed and no mass basis of any size can be found for it anywhere. These days imperialism is seeking new instruments with which to try to reduce the cooperation of the socialist countries and to loosen the national and international bonds of brotherhood. Their main tool for this is the incitement of nationalism, which has already proved to be a good tool in the area of the Eastern European socialist countries in obstructing social progress.

With the formation of the socialist social system it became possible for the first time in history, and we add actual, to definitively solve the international problem. In given countries socialism acts for the good of the people living there. The common interest of peoples and nations is expressed in the fact that a socialist society is built everywhere as successfully and as productively as possible because this strengthens the socialist world system, and more and more rapidly creates the conditions for a finer, more prosperous and richer human life.

We believe that socialism uniformly means an improvement in human life for every nationality in every area of material, social, cultural and spiritual life.

It is of great importance in ideological and political work for us to correctly understand the policy of our party in this question and to intervene in every area in conformity with it.

Another important spot in propaganda is occupied by socialist patriotism and internationalism. Here again we use the approach of content identified with the programs of socialism, where the service of social and economic progress and corresponding work carried out honorably form the main substance of socialist patriotism.

Socialist patriotism and internationalism are inseparable from one another. The content of patriotism is summarized in social progress, and its fundamental condition is the international closeness and solidarity of peoples. In this way internationalism is the expression of socialist patriotism, the representative of national affairs on the highest level.

The Central Committee resolution of October 1976 called attention to the exploitation of the historical experience of the party and of the Hungarian labor movement, and to its use in ideologic and political education. This is not satisfied by our just introducing new subjects of such a type. Such questions as the guiding role of the party, the organizational policy, the role of the state or the dictatorship of the proletariat, its functions, the forms of exercising power, its instruments, social democracy, the struggle to create and further develop productive relationships under socialism, the planned economy, the ideological hegemony, and revolutionary development in

culture are also subject to penetrating analysis in our propaganda. It is certain that in connection with these, utilization of the historical experience of the labor movement will develop a historical attitude which will make it possible to understand the problems of today and the prospects of tomorrow.

The 60th anniversary of the formation of the Hungarian Communist Party offers a good opportunity for propaganda to promote the fact that: "Internationally the rich experience of the history of the Hungarian labor party can become a more effective part of our national awareness than previously." The Hungarian Communist Party was born in the revolutionary struggle and, facing the struggle, began the socialist transformation. The result of this revolutionary struggle, the Hungarian Socialist Republic, shows that socialist revolution is not exclusively a Russian characteristic. The history of the Hungarian revolutionary labor movement is an inalienable part of our national history. Party propaganda can do a great deal to convincingly demonstrate the most recent struggles in our history, the socialist revolutionary deeds and their results.

The development of socialist awareness does not only make a higher level of propaganda and an increase in effectiveness necessary, but also does so to educational work. Continuous propaganda must primarily aid in raising the level of directive work in the basic organizations. In addition we should give increased attention to the choice of propagandists, to their preparation and to planned assurance for their replacement. Among others this aid was asked for by the MSZMP Political Academy, the theoretical conferences and the various theoretical councils.

From the 1979-1980 school year on there will be changes in content and organization in the general and specialized classes of the Marxism-Leninism evening university for the purpose of raising the level of educational work. The party organizations and the teaching administrations will have to prepare for this in this very school year.

The level of work continuing in mass courses of party education has risen significantly in recent years. About half of the party members are studying in these classes. For a long time there has been a demand for the regularly attending students to receive proper recognition. In accord with the Political Committee of 25 July 1978 the students who complete definite conditions and requirements in mass courses will receive certificates of merit. This means an additional stimulus for party organizations, propagandists and students taking part in courses.

There are still a great many unused reserves in the work of shaping opinions, in propaganda, just as in other areas of life. These began to be used everywhere after the Central Committee Resolution of 26 October 1976. We must continue to do this and to use it for purposes of development as soon as possible.

HUNGARY

MISSION OF NATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT REVIEWED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Sep 78 pp 13-17

[Article by Gyula Gal, Central Committee Colleague: "Communists for the Peace Movement"]

[Text] On the basis of a decision of the National Peace Council 800 delegates will participate in the Ninth Hungarian Peace Congress to be convened on 1 December of this year. They will make an evaluation of the peace movement activity performed since the Eighth Congress, and will work out a program of activity for the continuing struggle for the establishment and protection of peace. In compliance with these requirements it will amend the operating regulations of the National Peace Council. It will again elect the leading social body of the Hungarian peace movement: the National Peace Council.

This important domestic political event makes it necessary to evaluate the work of the communists working in the peace movement and to take stock of their tasks. The Political Committee of our party judged that the program of activity of the Eighth Peace Congress, entitled the "Through deeds for our socialist homeland--for peace" became the Hungarian peace movement. It successfully aided the international activity of Hungary, and strengthened the readiness of the Hungarian people to act and the responsibility they feel for world peace and for social progress. Their guidelines on the current tasks of establishing peace and solidarity have reached every significant class.

There is better and better realization that the continuing battle for peace, and for the social progress inseparable from it, is a public interest and task. In this way the Hungarian peace movement is successfully aiding in the continuing struggle for the strengthening of socialist national unity, for the political cooperation of the different social classes and levels and of men differing in their worldview, and for joint action.

The results of building socialism and the success of the domestic peace movement have set favorable conditions for the international activity of the Hungarian peace movement and of the National Peace Council.

Representatives in various international forums have popularized the peace policy of Hungary and of the socialist community, and aided in the realization of the World Peace Council program of action. They were original participants in the worldwide social action developing for security and cooperation in Europe, for putting a stop to the armament race, and for disarmament. They have actively supported the continuing battle to eliminate centers of crisis, for national independence and autonomy, and against racial prejudice. The national solidarity actions which supported the justified struggle of the Vietnamese, the Arabs, the Chileans, the Angolans, the people of Mozambique and other nations aroused considerable international reaction. The first world developmental conference, held in our country, also aided in the peace movements of the developing countries.

The substantial activity of the Hungarian peace movement, with its positive effect on both intellect and emotion, was accompanied by a number of varied and variable programs. Along with large demonstrative meetings, sincere and friendly meetings, conversations among small groups and forums were held. High-level conferences, moving publications and exhibits, held with the cooperation of scientists, politicians, writers and artists, enriched the theoretical and factual material of the peace movement.

To a great extent the leading bodies of the National Peace Council and the numerous working committees carrying out social activity contributed to this success. In the first place social and mass organizations gave aid by beginning the annual programs and domestic action. In realizing the activity program of the peace movement the cooperation of the National Peace Council with social and mass organizations and movements became more deliberate, closer and more productive.

A significant role in the results was played by the party committees, party leadership and basic party organizations, which helped and coordinated subsequent peace-making tasks by means of their theoretical political guidelines. The party members worked enthusiastically and productively in the peace movement. By their personal example and by their work, with its convincing effect on mind and feeling, they drew millions of people outside the party into the struggle.

However, some of the party organizations have still not realized that strengthening the worldwide battle waged to strengthen international detente and to establish peace also increases the role of our domestic peace movement. For this reason agitation for peace has still not become part of the daily activity of party and mass organizations.

Basic Goal of Our Foreign Policy

The task of the party members working in the peace movement is determined by the fact that for Hungary the greatest foreign policy goal is the defense and strengthening of peace. Peace is necessary to attain the

essence of socialism and its basic goal. The deep humanism, patriotism and international nature of our socialist society forces us to support the worldwide struggle going on for peaceful coexistence and the further advance of detente.

Socialism, social progress and the forces of peace have particularly created real conditions to safeguard peace. Following their efforts peaceful coexistence and detente have been able to become a basic tendency of international life. The promotion of peace by socialist countries is aided by the fact that every people is interested in maintaining peace, and therefore we can count on their active support.

The fundamental tendency of detente is realized by way of conflict. The extremely reactionary imperialist circles, and the vowed opponents of peace, of socialism and of social progress have begun a furious counterattack to stop detente, to weaken the position of socialism and progress, and to alter the balance of power. Although the only alternative left for man is peaceful coexistence, there is a real danger that the opponents of peace and of national collaboration will revive the cold war. Under such circumstances the battle for peace becomes more complex and complicated: at the same time that it aims at a strengthening and development of international detente or to a rejection of the reactionary counterattack, it is motivating hundreds of millions of people for the establishment of peace and a vigorous battle for peace.

As detente has spread, the question coming to the foreground has been how the proponents of the peace movement want to change the world. The Warsaw World Conference of the World Peace Council gave a clear answer to this last year. According to them the work of establishing peace in every country serves man. The fear of a world war and of hunger will disappear. Along with the elimination of world war, peaceful coexistence and international detente should mean broad and mutually advantageous cooperation in economy, culture, sport and environmental protection between the countries of the two systems, and an exchange of valuable political ideas. It will include a realization that the natural law of every country is independence and a maintenance of national sovereignty, and that every country has the inalienable right to determine its own fate. Oppression over other peoples, aggression and social injustice will not fit into the coming world.

A basic requirement for the establishment of peace is the creation of political, economic, military, cultural and psychological conditions for international security, which demands a steadfast and persistent struggle. This struggle has two directions. On the one hand the political and economic forces of socialism, peace and progress must be further increased. On the other hand it is necessary to fight further for complete disarmament, for an end to imperialist aggression and for the worldwide success of social justice on the basis of socialism and with the support of the peace-loving and progressive public opinion of the world.

What can we Hungarians do, what can the individual do for the sake of peace?

We are aware of the fact that by itself Hungary is not a decisive factor in the formation of world affairs. However, our social system raises us to the standard of living of the developed countries, and our foreign policy efforts rank our country in the vanguard of the persistent fighters for socialism and peace. Our country, along with the Soviet Union, the fraternal socialist countries and the peace-loving and advanced forces of the world also plays an active part in the positive formation of world affairs. This fact obliges us, living under the favorable opportunities presented by the socialist system and strengthening the socialist national unity, to optimally raise our political, economic, cultural, health and social achievements. In this way we not only serve the development of our country, but also strengthen the real opportunities to preserve peace. It follows from this that the role of the individual man also is an obligation toward himself, his family and his homeland. Whoever feels responsibility for the present and future of mankind, for social progress, and whoever wishes to have a peaceful and happy life, has a natural obligation to actively support our foreign policy and to make a conscious commitment to build a developed socialist society.

The national program elaborated by the Ninth Party Congress includes the current tasks of the Hungarian people. Its implementation will create the basic conditions for further improvement in living and working conditions, as well as forming a real basis and pledge for the continued struggle for peace.

To Reach Every Person

The basic task of the social and mass organizations is to reach every man with propaganda for peace by means of their members and active workers. They must make the concrete tasks connected with the establishment and battle for peace known to workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, employees, craftsmen, small businessmen, young and old, materialists and religious persons alike. This can be achieved by the responsibility felt for building a developed socialist society, for peace, for the freedom of peoples and for social progress fruitfully affecting social work competition and the brigade movement of workers and cooperative peasants, and by stimulating the intelligentsia to actively aid in the establishment of peace and in caring for friendship among peoples through their creations and human faith. Thus socialist patriotism and internationalism, clothed in deed, can be reinforced among the older and the young.

The transformation of the worldwide struggle for peace and of international life is accompanied by growing interest, as well as by our domestic policy position and tasks. Cadres and forums on the levels of the party and mass organizations are at our disposition to present the major relations between modern questions through political guidelines and the exchange of ideas. Particularly important is the demonstration that we can guarantee the

conditions for the work of establishing peace by means of the alliance existing with the Soviet Union and with the countries of the socialist community and our close political, economic and military collaboration. This is why we accept our obligations from this collaboration with complete conviction.

In the foreground of the international struggle for peace are the battle for complete disarmament and halting the accelerating nuclear arms race. The initiatives taken in the interests of disarmament by the socialist countries are made known by the peace activists. The fact that the World Peace Council placed before the last special general session of ENSZ [UN] a document in which 700 million people signed a demand for complete disarmament shows the power of the worldwide peace movement.

The courageous struggle of the hundreds of millions of peace-lovers in the world is clear. On the one hand it is evident that any nuclear world war would endanger the survival of all mankind. On the other hand it is revolting that the imperialist countries spend astronomical sums for destructive weapons, while every second person in the world is hungry, every third one is undernourished, millions are victims of epidemics, hundreds of millions cannot read and write, and more than 15 million in the developed capitalist countries are unemployed. They try with false accusations to establish that the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are endangering peace. It is unfortunate that the extreme reactionary circles, striving to accelerate the arms race, also receive support from the Chinese leadership.

The peace movement unmasks the extreme, reactionary, imperialist circles, especially the representatives of the military-industrial complex, which disguises the real causes of the arms race and its economic profits by falsely spreading the danger of Soviet aggression. This must be opposed by socialist programs for establishing peace, serving not the interests of a narrow privileged class, but those of all working people. The fact is that the promoters of the arms race desire to keep these programs from being achieved.

From the point of view of world peace the matter of European peace and security is especially important. In the Final Document signed in Helsinki, representatives of 35 nations set down the basic principles of relations among the European countries. Its favorable influence is aiding relations between countries of different social systems. However, from the beginning we have been able to witness the same reactionary imperialist attempts, spoiling the favorable atmosphere and aimed at stopping relations between socialist and capitalist countries. In all of this the further development of detente requires vigilance and a steady, persistent battle in which the public, peace-loving opinion of the world will have a great role.

In connection with special concrete cases a consistent subject is the mutual relationship between peaceful coexistence and social progress. Do the two of them promote or exclude each other? The socialist countries give

a unanimous reply to this question: Peace, national freedom, independence and social progress belong together. They are most determined to reject the attempts to place them in opposition.

The natural allies of the socialist countries in the international struggle to protect world peace and social progress are the developing countries fighting for their complete independence and for economic improvement. The socialist countries help their progressive ambitions by political and diplomatic means and by the development of economic, scientific and cultural relations of a new type. We vigilantly watch for the neocolonial assaults, in company with the peace-loving forces of the world, and raise our voices against every aggressive move.

With similar resolve we speak out for the purpose of stopping the intrigues of the reactionary imperialist groups interested in fomenting and preserving situations of conflict. For the sake of protecting the peace and security of the areas involved and of all humanity, we demand the elimination of centers of crisis and a just arrangement by way of conferences for the discussion of questions. The Hungarian people show in innumerable ways that they join the Vietnamese with deep inalterable sympathy in their efforts to remove the damage from the war and to strive more mightily in the work of establishing peace. At the same time they are deeply shocked by the series of actions taken by the Chinese leaders against the Vietnamese Socialist Republic. We can daily witness the solidarity of Hungarian workers with the Vietnamese people and their support in the battle for justice.

The Organic Part of Political Work

The Hungarian peace movement can only fulfill its manifold role of high responsibility if its campaign, propaganda and promotional activity organically enters the educational work of everyday politics of the party organizations, the national front committees, the trade unions, the KISZ, the cooperatives, the Red Cross, and the other social and mass organizations. Thus the effectiveness of peace movement work is not primarily assured by numerous programs, but by special political programs providing pertinent information on the shape of the world and country and on the things to be done in the battle for and establishment of peace. In the future the decisive role in the conscious acceptance of these tasks will belong to party members working in the peace movement. Their personal example, their political and instructive work, will also form the main condition for the guidance, conviction and victory of the working masses, and thus for further intensification of political and active unity. This first increases the role and responsibility of the guiding party committees, party leadership and basic party organizations. This will cause party members working in the peace movement to continuously seize on effective theoretical and factual materials.

In accord with the standpoint of the National Peace Council, the representatives of the Ninth Hungarian Peace Congress will be chosen in the political meetings and group sessions of social and mass organizations on various levels taking place in September and October and forming the Hungarian peace movement. The unity of the members of the mass organizations and movements, or of the masses, will render it possible for the basic classes and strata to be represented at the Congress. The workers, productive cooperative peasants, intelligentsia, employees, craftsmen, small business-ment, church personnel, women, children, party members and people outside the party will take part in numbers corresponding to the proportion of their involvement. This is an important guarantee that the program of activity of the Ninth Hungarian Peace Congress will reflect the aspirations of all of our people for peace.

6806

CSO: 2500

SIXTH AIRBORNE DIVISION EVALUATED

Bonn TRUPPENPRAXIS in German Vol 22 No 8, Aug 78 pp 647-652

[Article by 1st Lt Reinhold Neuer: "The 6th Pomorska Airborne Division -- An Elite Unit of the Polish People's Army"]

[Text] The article on the 6th Polish Airborne Division continues a series of reports on the Warsaw Pact's ground forces. The writer provides an overall view of the history, organization, weapons and equipment, and training of this elite Polish unit.

The author, member of a tank-destroyer company and an active parachutist, is concerned with the airborne troops of other states, among other things, particularly those of the East bloc.

Introduction

Besides the Soviet Union, with seven combat-ready airborne divisions, and Czechoslovakia, whose rank-and-file paratroopers make up the 22nd Airborne Brigade, only Poland maintains an airborne unit of divisional size.¹ Since the indicative value of airborne troops within the Warsaw Pact is well known, the members of the 6th Airborne Division are considered to be Poland's elite soldiers.

History of the Division

The division was formed in 1944 in the Soviet Union as an infantry division. As a unit of the 1st Polish Army, it engaged the German Wehrmacht, distinguishing itself in particular in the battle for the so-called Pomeranian Wall in February 1945. Beginning in 1934, the Germans had set up this

¹ It is true that the remaining non-Soviet Warsaw Pact states do have airborne units, but according to presently available information, these units only come up to battalion or regimental strength.

fortification system between the Baltic Sea and Warthe as a backup in the event of a dispute with Poland. It consisted of a string of concrete bunkers of various kinds [1].*

This operation was above all politically as well as militarily significant for Poland because it captured territory that had long been claimed, and it assured access to the Baltic Sea via Kolberg and Stettin. For this action the division was nicknamed Pomorska (meaning Pomeranian).

In the course of the technical reorganization of the Polish People's Army in the latter half of the 1950's, the division was reorganized and reequipped as an airborne division in 1957. The swearing-in ceremony in the new formation took place on 4 January 1958 in Krakow Square [2].

Organization of the 6th Airborne Division

The total strength of the 6th Airborne Division amounts to barely 4,000 men. It is thus only half as large as a Soviet airborne division, whose troop strength numbers approximately 8,100 soldiers. Designed for conventional paratroop/airborne operations as well as commando missions, the division consists of several paratroop battalions and airborne support units. It is said to have no regimental level. The probable structure of the 6th Airborne Division is shown in Figure 1 [on following page]. The division comes directly under the Ministry of National Defense in peacetime.

Weapons and Equipment of the Polish Paratroopers

The unit's weapons conform to the special requirements of airborne troops and are largely the same as those used by Soviet airborne forces. For example, each soldier is equipped with the Russian AK-47 (Kalashnikov) with folding stock, but the PM-63, the Polish mini-submachine gun, is also part of the Polish paratroopers' equipment. Its size and light weight make it especially well suited for this purpose [3]. Machine guns of the RPK-M60 (Kalashnikov) type are also used.

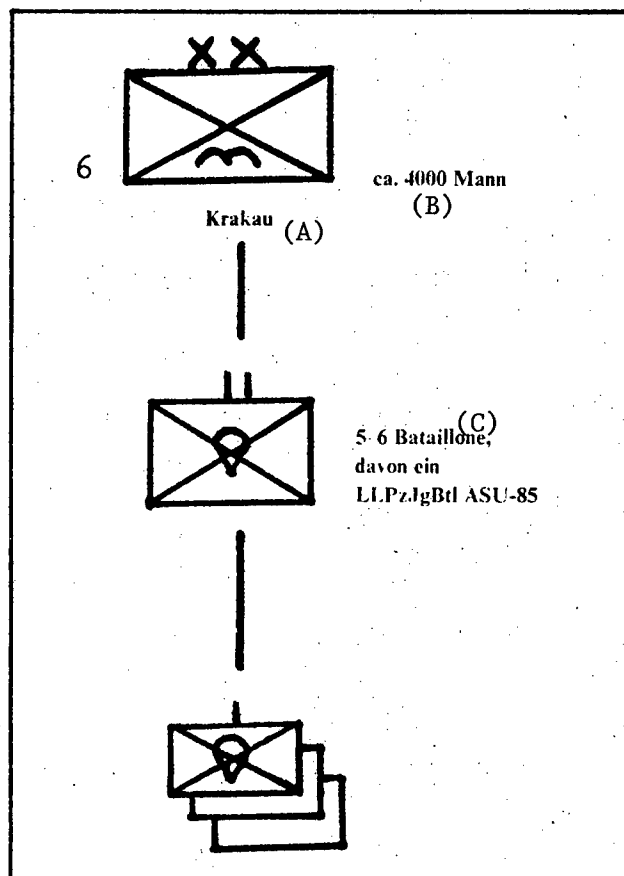
A support weapon available to the paratroopers is the BM-14/8 eight-barreled rocket launcher, developed for the airborne units by the Poles themselves. It can be transported by air, specifically by the Horse and Hook helicopters, and can also be dropped from the air. Artillery support is probably also supplied by the 120 mm M-1938 and/or M-1943 mortars used by all Warsaw Pact airborne troops. Armor-piercing weapons to be mentioned are the RPG-7 recoilless antitank grenade launcher and the 82 mm B-10 recoilless antitank gun.

The wheeled vehicles used in transporting troops and in hauling are mostly 0.75-ton GAS-69 overland trucks or trucks of a similar type. For heavy

*

The figures enclosed in brackets refer to the separate footnote section at the end of the article.

Figure 1. Probable Organizational Structure of the 6th Airborne Division



- Key:
- A. Krakow
 - B. Approximately 4,000 men
 - C. Five to 6 battalions, one of which is an ASU-85 airborne tank-destroyer battalion

combat vehicles the division employs the ASU-57 and ASU-85 airborne tank destroyers. The ASU-57 was introduced in 1962, the ASU-85 in 1964.

The Polish paratroopers wear greenish-gray field uniforms with the airborne insignia -- a hovering eagle below an opened parachute-- on the upper left arm. This insignia is also on the division's vehicles. In 1958, the division was the first among Warsaw Pact members to introduce the red beret as headgear.² For jumping they wear an olive-green jump helmet with camouflage netting and laced jump boots. The parachute troops are awarded the paratrooper's badge after completing their jump training. Here again, the badge shows the hovering eagle and is worn over the right breast pocket of the uniform. Soldiers who can demonstrate a certain number of jumps wear the paratrooper's badge with the number of jumps encircled by a wreath. Jump instructors wear the same insignia, but their wreath is gold-colored. The paratroopers use an 87-square-meter parachute that each jumper must pack himself.

Upon discharge, the soldiers of the 6th Airborne Division are allowed to keep their paratrooper's badge, the red beret and a scarf made of parachute silk. They are supposed to feel ties with their old unit even as reservists [4].

Training of the "Red Berets"

Courage, toughness and endurance are demanded of Polish paratroopers. Accordingly, their training is extensive and versatile:

Combat training including daytime and nighttime jump exercises and jumps over difficult mountain and forest terrain;

Mountain-climbing training and skiing taught by experienced alpinists;

Hand-to-hand combat training;

Athletic training;

Promotion of reaction capabilities and courage.

The paratroop training itself lasts 8 weeks and covers the following areas:

Ground exercises in falling;

Jumping exercises from an aircraft mockup;

2. As far as is known, besides the Poles only the Czechoslovak paratroopers wear the red beret. The NVA [National People's Army] paratroopers also have this headgear, but they wear it exclusively on special occasions (parades, and so forth). Their everyday headgear is a brownish-gray beret.

Tower jumps;

Training on the gyrowheel and vaulting apparatus;

Parachute packing;

Parachute jumping.

During their 2-year basic military service the paratroopers are required to make at least 15 combat jumps -- not including practice jumps. A fully equipped soldier can carry a load weighing up to 100kg³ when jumping (parachute, reserve parachute, equipment bag, weapon and magazine holder). A report in the VOLKSARMEE newspaper reveals that some paratroopers in the division can produce some very high jump figures:

"Recently, staff sergeants Roman Liputski and Leslav Panasch from the 6th Airborne Division each completed his 3,000th parachute jump. Four other comrades were able to record their 2,000th jump from an aircraft. The six men are all instructors of young airborne soldiers in the division formed 20 years ago...[5]."

The division has no non-jumping personnel. Even cooks and band members have to jump.

Commando Operations

In addition to the parachute training, some units of the 6th Airborne Division are trained as reconnaissance and guerilla warfare forces for commando operations:

"It has become known that the East German, Polish and Czechoslovak special paratrooper units conduct exercises in the uniforms of the German Bundeswehr as well as the Danish Army, the British Army of the Rhine and the 7th (U.S.) Army[6]."

These special units have the following missions, among others:

Commando operations conducted in NATO uniforms against military and civilian command, transportation and supply facilities;

Destruction of nuclear delivery systems (Einsatzmittel) and nuclear warheads;

Misrouting of troop and supply movements;

Combat scouting and capture of important persons;

Capture of airfields, landing areas or drop zones for subsequent airborne operations;

³ Weight figure taken from VOLKSARMEE.

Creation of dissension among NATO troops and demoralization of the population, resulting in systematic chaos and panic in NATO's rear area.

Deployment of these diversionary troops is almost always done by parachute drop -- usually by night -- in units of squad or company strength. Battalion-strength units are used less often.

"The training of these soldiers -- all politically reliable volunteers -- lasts 2 to 3 years in the special paratroop units. The units also retain cadres that serve for much longer periods. Some of the training is conducted in NATO uniforms and also includes training courses for agents and language courses in German, English, French, Italian and Danish. These parachutists are instructed particularly thoroughly in the practices of the individual NATO armies. The subversionary deployment of these forces is to be expected even before the start of hostilities [7]."

It can be assumed that the 6th Airborne Division has one or two battalions with this kind of training. In the light of an assignment of this nature, the Polish paratroopers work especially closely with the NVA's Willi Saenger 2d Paratrooper Battalion -- a unit that is also scheduled and trained for commando operations -- and with the Red Army troop units stationed in Poland (NGT) [Northern Group Soviet Forces in Poland]. For practice, paratroopers from the division are regularly dropped somewhere over Poland without identification papers or money and with the mission of returning to their units as fast as possible. At the same time, military patrols are sent out specifically as pursuit commandos to track down and capture the parachutists [8].

Summary and Assessment

By virtue of their training and operational capabilities, the paratroopers of the 6th Airborne Division must definitely be regarded as elite troops. Deployed in tactical and operational airborne landings as well as in subversionary actions, their area of operation will as a rule lie deep behind enemy lines. They are rigorously and thoroughly prepared for this. According to official accounts, the 6th Airborne Division has always achieved a leading position among all units of the Warsaw Military District in its level of training and combat efficiency.

The operational efficiency of the division is highly regarded by the Warsaw Pact Joint Supreme Command as well. The Polish paratroopers have thus far taken part in all of the large-scale maneuvers in which the Polish People's Army has participated: "October Storm" in 1965, "Oder-Neisse" in 1969, "Brotherhood-in-Arms" in 1970 and "Shield 72" in 1972. In the occupation of Czechoslovakia the 6th Airborne Division, together with two Soviet airborne divisions, was among the first troop units flown in to about 20 of the country's airfields on the night of 20/21 August 1968.

Spotlighted by political and military leaders as a showpiece of the Polish People's Army, some units from the division were assigned to the UN peace force in the Middle East from November 1973 to June 1974. And on the occasion of Chancellor Schmidt's state visit to Poland in November 1977, paratroop officers from the 6th Pomorska Airborne Division made up the guard of honor at the memorial in Auschwitz.

FOOTNOTES

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2. ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Military Publishing House, East Berlin, No 4, 1977, p 65.
3. SOLDAT UND TECHNIK, Umschau Publishing House, Frankfurt/Main, No 1, 1976, p 44.
4. ARMEERUNDSCHAU, loc. cit., p 65.
5. VOLKSARMEE, Military Publishing House, East Berlin, No 11, 1977, page unknown.
6. Friedrich Wiener, "Ground Forces Handbook," Vol 2, "The Armies of the Warsaw Pact States," J.F. Lehmanns Publishing House, Munich, 1974, p 79.
7. Friedrich Wiener, loc. cit., p 153.
8. ARMEERUNDSCHAU, loc. cit., p 66.

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4. Erich Murawski, "Die Eroberung Pommerns durch die Rote Armee" [The Conquest of Pomerania by the Red Army], Harald Boldt Publishing House, Boppard, 1964.
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13. VOLKSARMEE, Military Publishing House, East Berlin, No 1, 1977 and No 11, 1977.
14. "Vereint unbesiegbar" [United, We Stand], pictorial essay, Military Publishing House, East Berlin, 1976.

7458

CSO: 2300

DROP IN RURAL LC MEMBERSHIP CAUSES CONCERN

Few Basic LC Organizations in Rural Centers

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 78 p 6

[Article by Dr Borislav Dimkovic: "Insufficient Participation of Peasants in the Basic Organizations of the LC in Local Rural Communities."]

[Text] The organizational-political structure, i.e., the types and numbers of basic organizations of League of Communists, is one of the factors in the political effectiveness of the LC. The basic organizations of the LC is the deciding actuator of ideological and political action, and the provider of initiative in carrying out a guiding ideological-political role in our socialist, self-managed society, and therefore also in agriculture and in the countryside. Because of that, the Resolution of the Eleventh Congress of the LCY stresses that "the socialist transformation of agriculture requires the more intense activity of basic organizations of the LC in the countryside."

The Class Question

According to the data on the number of basic organizations of the LC, in the past several years, their number has steadily increased (by about 32 percent) but at the same time the number of basic organizations of the LC within local communities in the countryside has dropped relative to the national total. In 1969, basic organizations of the LC in the countryside comprised 35.5 percent, while today they represent only 20 percent of the basic organizations in our society. However, we have to keep in mind that lately, the number of organizations of the LC has increased because of the division of previously large organizations into smaller ones in factories, basic organizations of associated labor, etc.

Although our Party's statistical data on number of LCY members in basic organizations of the LC in rural local communities is not updated every year, on the basis of existing indicators, it can be shown that the decrease in the number of basic organizations of the LC in rural local communities is also accompanied, although to a lesser degree, by a decrease in the number

of LCY members in those organizations. For example, in 1969 23.3 percent of the LCY members were in those organizations, 22.4 percent, in 1975, and it is estimated that today the percentage is 20 percent. It is important to stress that 95 percent of peasants who are LCY members are organized into basic organizations of LC local rural communities.

Year	BOLC*	Number	Percentage
1969	14,382	5,112	35.5
1974	33,110	7,880	23.8
1975	38,935	8,509	21.9
1976	42,459	8,698	20.9
1977	47,210	9,754	20.7

Fig 1. Total number of BOLC in local rural communities.

*Basic Organization of the League of Communists.

In addition to the fact that there has been a steady decrease in number of basic organizations of the LC in rural local communities, and of the number of members in those organizations, we must stress another unfavorable fact: in our country, almost two-thirds of all villages do not have basic organizations of the League of Communists. According to the latest figures, in Serbia there are 5,907 villages, of which 27.8 percent are without basic organizations of the LC, which means that every fourth village has no organized party activities. Because of that, it is necessary of make a determined effort in all opstinas with the goal to form basic organizations of the LC in villages where conditions are favorable. This is not only a so-called organizational problem, but also an important class question on whose solution depend both the political work, and self-management in every village.

A Peasant Expresses His Own Personal Interests Best

We are citing all this because the success and realization of the agrarian policy of the League of Communists undoubtedly depends upon how the people will accept it and upon the political quality of the LC members who are to realize it.

We believe that nobody can express the peasants' personal day-to-day interests better than the peasants themselves, nor can anyone else realize the agrarian policy of the LC, especially when we talk about expressing and reconciling the interests of individual social strata in villages on one side, and the nonfarm rural residents on the other. Because of that, an important role in the socialist transformation of villages also belongs to all other members of the League of Communists from the nonfarm ranks of the rural population.

The influence of peasants in basic organizations of the LC in the countryside depends on their participation and on their ideological-political educational level and position and also upon their numbers within those organizations. The results of polls show that almost one-half of the basic organizations of the LC in local rural communities (49.2 percent) have between 21 and 50 members, and about 30 percent have up to 20 members. There are 51-100 members in 11.1 percent of basic organizations, and only 3.7 percent have more than 100 members. This shows that the basic organizations of the LC, in rural local communities are considerably smaller in terms of membership when compared to other LC basic organizations. This suggests that they are more efficient because the members know one another, so the distribution of duties among them can be more equitable.

When talking about the size of basic organizations of the LC in local rural communities, there is a difference between the republics and provinces. The smallest organizations are in Slovenia (about 75 percent have 20 or less members), while in Vojvodina 66 percent have between 21 and 50 members.

The ability of basic organizations of the LC in local rural communities in villages to act does not depend solely upon the number of members of League of Communists, but it is certain that villages with a larger number of communists have a greater capacity, with such an ideologically conscious and politically committed membership, to realize successfully all social actions in villages, and to implement them at the right time.

Current research results show that the basic organizations of the LC in local rural communities are, as a rule, small in membership. It is important to note that the number of peasant members is decreasing.

Poll results show that 15 percent of basic organizations of the LC in local communities in Yugoslav villages do not have a single peasant in their ranks: 44 percent in Slovenia, 16 percent in Montenegro, 15 percent in Vojvodina, 14 percent in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 12 percent in Croatia, and about 6 percent in Serbia proper. Only in Macedonia and Kosovo are there no basic organizations of the LC without at least one peasant member of the LCY.

Analysis up to this time shows that the peasant participation in basic organizations of the LC in local rural communities is not uniform: beginning with those which have no peasant members, and those in which peasants are a minority, to those in which peasants comprise one-third of the membership, and those in which peasants comprise the majority of LCY members.

In view of such disparities in peasant membership in basic organization of the LC in local rural communities within the confines of individual republics, provinces and their opstinas, it is difficult to ascertain the causes of such situation using only this method (polling), although they can be discerned in the lack of uniformity in implementing the personnel policy of the LCY, on the part of the membership and leadership of basic organizations of the LC in rural areas.

The obviously low participation of peasants in basic organizations of the LC in local rural communities, with gravitation toward a relative and absolute decrease of that participation, limits the influence of the peasantry on them, and also the influence that basic organizations of the LC have on peasants outside the ranks of League of Communists.

Reasons for Low Peasant LC Membership

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 1 Sep 78 p 8

[Article by Dr Borislav Dimkovic: "Why Are There Few Peasants in the League of Communists?"]

[Text] The membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has been growing faster than Yugoslav population, especially in the last few years. In 1968, there were 57 LC members per 1,000 inhabitants, 50 in 1971, 56 in 1974, and 72 in 1977. The growth of LCY membership was accompanied by a change in its social composition, especially the ever greater participation of peasants in the social structure of LCY. On this occasion we paid attention to studying the changes in participation in the social structure of LC, of not only the peasants, but of all other members who work in the agricultural fields--in the public sector of agriculture, fishing industry, and the water resources economy.

The research results show that in the public sector of agriculture, the fishing industry and the water resources economy, more than 65,000 members of LC are employed, or about 6 percent of all LC members. Their number was decreasing at one time, but in the last few years an increase of participation of this social category in the LC has been noted. It is important to stress that they are all, in the most general sense of the word, agricultural producers, because the field of activity in which they work and from which they derive the basic source of their income, is agriculture. Besides that, they are in cooperative relations with the peasants (in basic organizations of associated labor for cooperation, and in farm cooperatives) and they jointly participate in the socialist transformation of not only agriculture, but also that of villages and social relationships within them, i.e., in the process of socialization of labor and land.

Symbolic Representation

The importance of this group of members in the social structure of the LCY can also be seen in the fact that between this group and the peasants there is an ongoing process of intrageneration and intergeneration mobility. In other words, many peasants, especially the poor ones, find permanent, and more often temporary employment in socialized farming complexes, and such communists then become members of their basic organizations of associated labor, and then, upon ending their employment there, they return to basic organizations of the LC in local communities in their villages.

Year	Total LCY Membership	Number of Peasants Members of LCY	
		Total Number	Percent
1969	1,111,682	81,243	7.3
1974	1,192,466	62,178	5.2
1975	1,302,843	65,910	5.1
1976	1,460,267	71,724	4.9
1977	1,623,735	78,492	4.8

Fig 1. The number of peasant members in the LCY, and their percentage of the total membership.

The changes in the social structure of the membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are most significant because of the sudden decrease in peasant participation in LCY. Formerly a dominant power, peasants are now only symbolically represented in the LCY.

The data about peasant participation in the LCY membership indicates that their number in the LC is constantly decreasing. However, in the past several years their number has increased somewhat, in modest proportions.

The number of women members who are individual agricultural producers has also decreased: in 1969 women comprised .8 percent, and in 1975 .3 percent of the total number of peasant LCY members.

Forgotten Women

The polls confirm this unfavorable situation when participation of not only peasant women, but women in general, in basic organizations of the LC in local rural community is concerned: one-third of basic organizations of the LC have less than 10 percent women in their ranks, 38 percent of basic organizations of LC have 10-20 percent women members, and about 27 percent have over 20 percent of women LCY members. That confirms the fact that women, and particularly peasant women, are only scantily represented in the membership of basic organizations of LC in local rural communities.

The analysis also shows that youth membership is also decreasing relative to the total number of peasant LC members: while youth formed 30 percent (24,553) of total peasant LC membership in 1969, they comprised only 26 percent (18,783) in 1975. The same tendency is also evident in the representation of younger members of the League of Communists (up to 25 years of age) in the total number of members of basic organizations of LC in local rural communities. According to research to date, the number of peasants among the total membership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is decreasing, but the possibilities for reviving the membership from the ranks of women, youth, and the participants of the People's Liberation War who live and work in the countryside, are far greater.

The decrease in the number of peasant members of LCY differs in various republics and provinces. Thus, in the League of Communists of Kosovo, 14 percent of all members are peasants; in the LC of Montenegro, 8 percent; in the LC of Serbia proper 6.9 percent; the LC of Macedonia, 6.3 percent; the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina 4.6 percent; the LC of Croatia, 2.6 percent; the LC of Vojvodina, 2.4 percent; and the LC of Slovenia .4 percent.

Analysis to date of peasant representation in total membership of the LCY, in republics and provinces, shows that their number is steadily decreasing, even in those republics and provinces where 10 years ago there was a considerably greater participation of peasants among the total number of members of League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Basic Reasons

Research to date shows that regardless of noted similarities or differences among republics and provinces, the participation of peasants within the social structure of LC is steadily and rapidly decreasing. Because of that, we must find out basic reasons for this situation, because it is in the interest of personnel policy in the League of Communists to stop the process of peasants leaving the LC. If the process is not stopped, peasants would disappear as a group from the social structure of the League of Communists. Therefore, we believe that the essential question of further development of class unity of workers and peasants at this stage of development is the stand on the representation of peasants in the League of Communists. Just as an effort is made to ensure that the majority of LCY members are workers, i.e., greater representation of workers in the social structure of the LC, we also must deal with the following question: which is the lowest allowable minimum of peasant representation in the LC which would not cause certain political repercussions and disturb the class unity of peasants and workers, as embodied in their vanguard, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The first factor which affects the process of constant decrease of peasants in the total membership of the LCY is the decrease in the number of the agricultural population relative to total population of our country.

While in 1961 49.5 percent of our population was agricultural, in 1969 the percentage decreased to 41.1, in 1971 to 38.1 percent, and in 1975 to 33.4 percent. On the other hand, the number of peasant members of LCY moved in the following direction: 1961--10.5 percent, 1969--7.3 percent, 1971--6.3 percent and in 1975--5.1 percent.

The above research results point to two important trends:

- representation of peasants in the social structure of LCY has always been proportionally smaller than the representation of agricultural population relative to total population.
- participation of the peasants in the social structure of LCY is decreasing incomparably faster than the decrease of the agricultural population itself.

From the above data, it is obvious that the basic factor of rapid decrease of the number of peasants in the membership of LCY is not the gradual decrease in agricultural population. However, it would be erroneous to conclude that the conversion of peasant members of the LC into workers, and other non-manual professions moved at the same rate as the decrease of the agricultural population. Quite to the contrary, the basic explanation for the rapid decrease in the number of peasant members of the LC can be found in the fact that the peasant members of the League of Communists, in great numbers, or en masse, changed their socio-professional status, and stayed on as LC members, thereby they appear among the League of Communist membership as members of other social groups.

9339

CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

'POLITICAL BULLYING' CHARGED IN FILM CONTROVERSY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1441, 20 Aug 78 p 9

[Commentary by Dragan Markovic: "Duels"]

[Text] First of all, a few "little reminders" so that everything will not be twisted around later, as often--under the goad of mentality of suspiciousness--happens:

1. I have not yet seen the movie "Duel for the Southern Track."
2. I am not a movie critic.
3. I like certain of Zdravko Velimirovic's films, especially, "The Dervish and Death."

This specific case, then, is just an occasion for reflection on a phenomenon that might be termed "political bullying."

Let us begin with a quotation.

Referring to the recent movie festival at Pula and to everything that happened to the movie "Duel for the Southern Track," the newspaper NARODNE NOVINE of Nis notes that southern Serbia had invested approximately 16 million dinars in this project, and that the audience applauded the movie at the arena in Pula. However, the paper goes on, the great majority of the movie critics more or less deprecated the movie in all its parts. In this respect, "a considerable contribution was made by a prejudiced discussion at a press conference, inspired by diverse interests, including easily distinguishable personal intolerance toward the maker of the film, the interests of various movie companies, and individuals who lack the courage to state frankly that they are bothered by every aspect of the cinematic treatment of our revolution...." The paper continues: "They remain in the shadows, on the fence, maliciously and cynically observing the course of the discussion, tossing in new 'stuntmen' like genuine strategists, dropping over to the maker of the film afterwards with a mask of sympathy to express their disgust at the war of words that has been going on. They may not be courageous, but they are certainly influential. They take advantage of every opportunity for

denigration.... They prepare their roles well, but they do not participate in public. Things have been this way for years, as the Yugoslav cultural public and general public is aware. However, nothing happens, the atmosphere does not change, people do not change." Reverting to the movie, the paper writes that critics need not pat everybody on the shoulder--"but when ... they forget the dimension of their social involvement and place themselves in the servious of dubious interests, then that is a dangerous phenomenon...."

Now what is really dangerous?

From the standpoint of social morality and democratic principles, which are increasingly the mark of our times, many things are ethically dangerous:

1. Of course it is dangerous if a critic places himself in the service of dubious interests.

But:

2. It is equally dangerous if critics who have unfavorably reviewed some creative work are immediately tagged with a series of suspicions that they are against the revolution, are crafty strategists who "lead the dance" from behind the scenes and want to denigrate or even eliminate the accomplishments of socialism, are defenders of some "other interests."

3. It is dangerous if some work, just because it deals with the era of the revolution, is identified with the revolution, is imposed as the revolution's symbol and trademark, so that every bad notice of the work is proclaimed the "voice of the dubious ones."

4. It is dangerous if, in the struggle against the so-called "black wave" in culture, other waves--"white" or "red"--are used, other waves that allegedly beat the drums on behalf of revolutionary creativeness, behind this mask, whereas their consciousness is dogma, they live in fear of freedom, they subordinate themselves to the "prescribed culture."

5. It is dangerous if a critique of a work, even if erroneous, biased, and vague, is discussed with the help of threats, labelling, and intimidation instead of arguments, facts, and analyses.

And finally:

6. It is dangerous if the conviction that a work has been unjustly belittled, has not been understood, has been underesteemed, leads someone to resort immediately and casually to grand, generalized suspicions: to the effect that Yugoslav culture is more or less corrupted and therefore keeps silent, that nothing changes--neither atmosphere nor people.

All of this is dangerous and smells a bit of "old incense," as we have been able to persuade ourselves on a number of occasions.

There is no "duel" that can be won by intimidation. You never know how things are going to turn out.